

The Communal Barracks of Primitive Races.—By S. E. PEAL, ESQ.

Plates I and II.

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Among the many social problems relating to the early history of our race which at the present day engage the attention of anthropologists, there are probably few which surpass in interest that of the origin of "Marriage."

The institution of the "family," with its attendant maternal and paternal duties, is so closely interwoven with all human history and customs that it is generally, and perhaps with some reason, taken to have been the normal form of development from the very first.

But in these days when the doctrine of evolution has taken such a firm hold of the scientific world, it is hardly necessary to point out that sooner or later, we may have to reconsider the entire question, guided by the light of recent discoveries.

In our endeavour to unravel the earlier phases of social life, we naturally look amongst the more savage races for traces of the social condition of our ancestors, piecing together slowly and carefully the relics of customs still surviving here and there, which may tend to throw light on this obscure and difficult question, drawing therefrom such deductions as experience teaches may be safe and legitimate.

From a careful study of the evidence recently accumulated, there can be little doubt that very much has yet to be learnt regarding the earlier forms of sexual relation.

MacLennan, to whom we owe so much on the question of "Primitive marriage," has endeavoured to shew that "marriage by capture" probably arose from paucity of females, due to infanticide, and that really some form of monogamy had always existed, but more recent evidence seems to shew that Sir John Lubbock's view is more likely to be correct, *i. e.*, that while marriage, or the private right to one particular woman by any man, arose by capture, this early stage of social development was possibly preceded by one of complete sexual liberty, as in a horde.

The relics of such a stage of sexual communism seem to survive far more extensively among savage and semi-civilized races in our day than is generally supposed, especially in the Indo-Pacific and Australian regions, and the object of the present note is to draw attention to the large stores of information on this question already in hand, but so far unutilized.

Letourneau, in his "*Evolution of Marriage*," in the contemporary science series, has exhaustively traced for us the earlier stages of

“marriage and the family” amongst the lower animals, shewing conclusively that they are by no means peculiarly human institutions.

The various and singular forms of sexual association, past and present, he has also clearly laid before us, though singularly enough entirely omitting one which is of the utmost importance, and to which it is desirable to draw attention. The omission is in regard to the peculiar institution of barracks for the unmarried, which under so many surviving forms, and endless names, extends from the Himalaya and Formosa on the north, to New Zealand and Australia on the south; from eastern Polynesia, to the west coast of Africa.

One of the first things to strike the student who is fairly well acquainted with the head-hunting and semi-savage races of the north-eastern frontier of Bengal, on reading travels in the Malayo-Pacific Archipelago, is the similarity, and at times identity, of so many singular customs over this widely scattered region.

Not only do we find, as Sir Henry Yule pointed out in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* for February 1880, that head-hunting, pile-dwelling, blackening the teeth, aversion to milk, “jhuming,” and barracks for the unmarried, extend from India to New Guinea and other places, but that when the matter is carefully looked into, quite a large number of other singular customs come into view, and that the area over which these customs prevail, extends over a far larger part of the earth’s surface than Sir Henry Yule had suspected.

Taken by itself this institution of organized “barracks for the unmarried,” is sufficiently suggestive; but when we notice that it is only one of many peculiar social customs, which survive more or less with it, among widely scattered races, the case is doubly noteworthy; first as a proof of former racial affinity among all these people, and secondly, as a most important and suggestive factor in social evolution generally.

Their sociological significance it is the more necessary to study as they are so obviously survivals; and under modified forms are seen amongst Indo-Mongols, Dravidians and Kols, Malays, Papuans, Polynesians, Australians, and African races.

For some years past racial affinity has been suspected among these now distant races, and in these communal barracks we seem to have a clear proof that the “survival of the fittest” among human customs may long outlast both physical and linguistic variation.

As might naturally be expected, with customs handed down from a remote antiquity, among various races, there has been a large amount of local geographical variation, and in some instances the subsidiary customs have died out entirely.

Thus "jhuming" which so strongly differentiates all these, from Aryan races, is not found among the nomadic Australians. Cannibalism again, which at one time was probably universal, has died out in most cases, or survives in the passion for "head-hunting" in several.

The building of houses on piles is another singular habit which persists among many widely scattered groups, and that it is a survival and not locally spontaneous, is beautifully demonstrated by the "araiba" or extension of the platform floor, beyond the end of the roof, which is characteristic of Indo-Mongols, Borneans, Papuans, the dwellers in the Phillipines, and other widely-scattered people.

The platform burial, common around Assam, is also seen in New Guinea, Borneo, Formosa, Sumatra, &c.

The vertical double cylinder bellows, seen all over our north-eastern frontier as far as the Lutze, (Anong) turns up again in Nias off Sumatra, in the Ké Islands, North Australia, and in Madagascar in identically the same forms.

Our Nagas and other tribes climb trees by cutting notches for the toes, precisely as do the Australians, and use the bamboo pegged to a tree stem as a ladder, the same as the Dyaks.

The extraordinary hide cuirasses worn by the savages in the island of Nias, to keep out arrows and spears, are absolutely identical with those till lately used by our Nagas, and which are now rendered useless by fire-arms.

The large canoe war drums of Polynesia, the "Lali" of Fiji, and "Tavaka" of the New Hebrides are seen all through our Naga hills, and stranger still, have the "crocodile heads" carved at the extremities, though the animal is unknown locally.

The bamboo Jew's harp of the Phillipines and New Britain, sounds in all our Naga villages. The singular perineal bandage of New Guinea is here also quite common.

These are a few of the very singular instances of survivals, which unexpectedly meet us over a wide area, among races now considered more or less distinct, and which demonstrate a common origin in the far past, among races too, wherein the communal barracks for the unmarried is a persistent feature.

As before stated, many of these subsidiary social customs have varied, or died out entirely, here and there, due no doubt to differences in the physical surroundings, and in the barracks themselves we see often variations to suit local, or recent, requirements, which indeed is one good proof of extreme antiquity:

But certain features in relation to them have so persistently

remained, that they are probably fundamental necessities in the case.

Firstly, we see in all, except among the nomadic Australians, that there is a special and recognized building, or buildings, for the unmarried young men and lads to sleep in, and at times for the young women, also in many cases together.

Secondly, we notice that among the races having these barracks without exception, there is complete liberty between the sexes until marriage.

Thirdly, and most significant of all, these barracks are invariably tabu to the *married women*, whether the race, or tribe is exogamic or endogamic.

We may also note that, as a general rule, we see adult marriages where this social system is in vogue, and conjugal fidelity seems greater than among the more civilized races, by whom juvenile chastity is valued.

The crux of the entire question appears to be in the fact that from Bhutan to New Zealand from the Marquesas to the Niger, there is a distinct tabu raised against the married woman, as against a social interloper or innovation; and among tribes and races where otherwise there was complete sexual liberty, she is, in all cases, legislated against as an inferior, or slave.

If "marriage" had preceded the barrack system, it would, in many instances, have dominated it; but there are no traces of peaceful equality even between the parties to marriages in the past; everything tends to shew that the wife was a captured slave, and hence private property, as much so as a spear or pig.

As we see (still) among some savage races, the males killed or captured in a raid were invariably eaten, and the females reserved as slaves, or as we say "wives," and hence marriage arose in all these cases through capture, giving the successful warrior a right to one woman.

To many persons this feature of "barracks" for the unmarried, combined as it is with juvenile sexual liberty, and strict tabu against the married women, may appear so novel, that a few references to particulars and authorities may not be out of place. We can at the same time note the local variations, due to the geographical surroundings, or to the social advance of the race.

For instance among the semi-civilized Buddhist Shans of eastern Assam the "chang" is a semi-temple, and boys' school-house, where the lads at times reside for fixed periods, and which is tabu to women.

Among the Abor tribes, north-east of Assam, the "Mosup" is

seen in every village, and Mr. J. F. Needham describes them in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Soc.*, May 1886, as at times 240 feet long by 30 wide, with 24 fire places. These are not only the guest and council houses, but among head-hunters are the guard-houses in which "the single men warriors reside," and where "certain warriors are told off daily, who keep a look out day and night."

"The side walls are crammed with the heads of every description of animal, and all down the centre of it, are to be seen the bows, arrows, fishing gear, hats, spears, &c., of the warriors, on bamboo trays. The "Mosup" is close to the entrance to the village and would hold about 500 men."

"The unmarried girls have apparently any amount of latitude given to them," and are very fond of singing and dancing. In the early dawn he was roused by yells throughout the village, and on enquiry was told it was an order from the "Mosup" going round for a general holiday next day, and that every man, woman and child was to remain in, and not go to work in the "jhums."

Among the Miri these communal buildings are called "De-ri," and there are (as among the Abors) several in each village. They are not only the guest and council houses but the recognized sleeping places for the unmarried young men and young women, boys and girls, between whom until marriage, as in all these cases, there are no restrictions.

As might naturally be expected, they are strictly tabu to the married women.

Among the Miris settled long in the plains, there is a very distinct advance in individualism, and in small communities the "De-ri" is declining into a boy's play house, though the freedom between the sexes, in the unmarried state, is not curtailed, and may be called notorious.

The great Naga communities whether savage head-hunters, or peacefully inclined, present us with various forms of these communal barracks. In some of the large eastern villages, as many as 10 or 12 for young men, and 4 or 5 for unmarried girls are found. As a rule those for the young men, are guard houses, placed so as to cover the entrances to the village. Each being manned by the lads and young warriors of the adjacent section of the village, or "*morong*."

Between the Dikhu and Disang rivers among the tribes descended from Sangloi, these barracks or guard houses are called "Pah," and as there are probably an average of 6 to each of the 60 villages; there would be about 360 Pah on an area of some 600 square miles.

In some tribes on this tract, there are no distinct houses or "Páh," for unmarried girls, who sleep at home, and in Zu, the head village

of the Baupara tribe, those for the young unmarried men are named as follows:—

1. Ra man	Pah.	7. Ko nu	Pah *
2. Pak Ké	„	8. Nok sa	„
3. Vong tong	„ *	9. Nai tong	„ *
4. Ra Nok	„	10. O hin	„ *
5. Ten tok	„	11. Pa nu	
6. Lo tong	„ *	12. Pa sa	
		13. Vang hum	Pah.

The first six belong to the smaller half of the village (which is divided by a deep khud, whence water is obtained from natural springs). The other seven are in the other portion of the village which includes the residence of the chief or “Vang hum.” The “Pah” marked thus* are large ones commanding entrances to the village and are more or less fortified. Towards the centre of the village there are several Pum Pah (3 or 4) for little boys. The others are manned by the young men who take it in turn to mount guard, day and night, 15 or 20 at a time, but who in this tribe take their meals at home.

Among a few of these tribes, the adults as well as juveniles are habitually nude, and in all of them, until 17 or 18 years of age, both sexes are absolutely so, except when visiting the plains.

Here as among the “*Wild races of S. E. India,*” (by Colonel Lewin,) “great license is allowed before marriage to the youth of both sexes,” p. 193; “every lad before marriage has his sweet-heart and he cohabits with her whenever opportunity serves, p. 203. The intercourse between both sexes is free and unrestrained until after marriage,” p. 245.

In most cases these “Pah” are obviously associated with communal customs of the highest importance to the tribe, not only are they the schools in which the youths are graded and taught their duties, and use of arms, but they are the recognized rallying centres in times of public danger. Each contributes its share in all public labor, such as repairing fortifications, clearing roads bridging rivers and in building the houses, &c.

They lie in fact at the basis of the social life as relics of a more extensive communal system, which is slowly giving way to individualism, and here, as elsewhere, the “Pah” are tabu to the married woman.

West of the Dikhu river we find these communal barracks for young men, are called “Arizu,” by the “Ao” or Haimong. Besides being the guest, council, and guard-houses the Arizu has the control of all war matters, and fortification, has charge of the big village drum,

sees to the fastening of the village gates at night, and other public matters.

There are it seems three orders or grades in these "Arizu:" 1st, the Scangpur; 2nd, the Tanabanger; and 3rd the Tepue (or Tepoe) and those who have passed through all and are still unmarried are called Azuiner.

As an illustration of the organization of the "barracks" in one of its many phases, a little detail may here be of some use.

The Scangpur are the lowest grade; they bring wood and water and are the servants of the other grades. *No parent can interfere* with the discipline, and as the term of each order is for three years, the discipline of the lower order is considerable and valuable.

When the other orders come in at night, tired from labor or from being on the war path, the Scangpur has plenty to do in shampooing and manipulating the legs, arms and backs of the weary or sick.

The second order or Tanabanger have less drudgery, but they have some; if there is wood needed for fencing or repairs of the "Arizu," the two lower grades have to do the irksome parts, and the term of service here also is for three years.

The third order, or Tepue, are the masters and instructors, and on entering it there is much rejoicing. In a war party they carry spear shield, and dao, the lower orders carrying the provisions, &c. The Ao have their kidong, or bougoh, and appoint one officer called sensong. Above all is one called "Unger." This last order has a great feast at the end of three years when it retires; the material is what the Arizu three orders have earned in the three years by going now and then to work on cultivation for rich men.

All of these three orders eat with their parents or elder brothers and usually work for them.

The number of "Arizu" houses in a village depends on circumstances, usually at least two, located near the chief entrances, occasionally there are 5 or 6 so as to afford sleeping places for the boys and young men.

This tribe has been annexed by us for some years, but in most of the villages the "Arizu" houses are kept up though there is now no warfare, and the boys are all expected to work for and be subject to their parents.

In some of these Ao villages there are, or used to be, "Arizu" for girls and unmarried young women, under control of elderly matrons.

Among the Mikirs (or Arleng) we again find communal barracks called "Tarengs." Boys enter them at from 8 to 10 years of age and there is generally but one to each village. Those who join the "Tareng" do so for a fixed period of 5 or 6 years or longer, after which it is

broken up, and those who wish to leave go out. When they form one they elect head men to it. The first is called Cleng sarpo and highest, the second is Cleng doon, and the third is called Sodar keta, the fourth Sodar loo.

No married man or one who is a widower ever joins a "Tareng," and there are none for girls. No girls, young women or married women may go near them, and they are used as council and guard-houses as well as being the regular sleeping barracks of the unmarried young men.

Anything happening is first reported to the Cleng sarpo, and thence to the villagers and head men. Any one visiting the village sleeps in the "Tareng," and any young man from the "Tareng" can go to any house he likes and sleep with an unmarried girl; her parents can make no objection. When once a "Tareng" is formed no one can leave it until it breaks up, or he is fined.

Among the Lushais a traveller informs us that "the custom is in all these villages, that the young men on arrival at a certain age, are expelled from their father's house at night, and sleep all together in the Zalbuk, or bachelors' house. The Zalbuk is one large room, inside a verandah.

Colonel T. H. Lewin frequently and very clearly refers to this custom in his "*Wild races of S. E. India*" and to the liberty allowed between the sexes before marriage, (see pages 119, 121, 182, 193, 201, 203, 245 and 254), making it particularly clear that among the "Hill tracts" therein referred to, the young unmarried men and lads are graded and governed by special communal laws, and that these dominate the rights of the parent, as will be gathered from the remark:—"his mother abused them much, but the father and mother could not hurt them as they were acting by the Goung's orders."

We constantly indeed find proofs that the right of the parents over their children is more or less subordinate to that of the communal barrack, that "the family" in fact as the social unit, is not yet emancipated, but holds a subordinate position in the body politic.

To a moral certainty, the above few instances do not represent a tenth part of the information which a systematic survey would reveal, in regard to this momentous subject, among the Indo-Mongolian races, but enough has probably been said to shew that these communal barracks are a social feature of importance, deserving more careful study.

Turning now to Bengal and Central India, with its mixed and aboriginal races, we find these barracks in some form or other among the Gonds, Konds, Sonthals, Kols and others. According to the Revd. S. Hyslop, the Konds and Gonds have "in their villages *bothies* for bachelors." Among the Gaiti Gonds and Koitars, "each village has a house, or gotalghar (empty bed house) for single unmarried men to sleep in, and also similar ones for unmarried girls and women."

The Juangs (in Keonjur) have the same, and after work and eating, the young men drum and dance, while the girls sing. The Revd. E. Petrick, who lived as a Missionary for some years at Ranchi, informs me that under the name of "Damkuria" these communal barracks for the unmarried (of both sexes) are seen in all Sonthali and Oraon villages, and that before marriage there is complete liberty between the sexes.

Mr. W. H. P. Driver, who has had large experience among these races, confirms the above. Speaking of the Koroas (*Journal A. S. B., Volume LX, Part I, No. II, 1891*) he says :—

"Every large village has its "Damkuria" or bachelors' quarter, for boys who are too old to live with their parents," girls stay with their parents until they are married. The dancing ground "acra," is usually an open space in front of the Damkuria, and young people enjoy considerable freedom until they are married.

Turning now to the Archipelago and Pacific region, we find in more or less modified forms this singular social institution common all over New Guinea, and the houses conspicuous as "Dubus, Dobo, Dupa, Marea," &c.

Many of our best travellers and missionaries have given us excellent descriptions of them, and the customs pertaining thereto, though in many cases failing to perceive their sociological significance.

Considering the great difference between the Papuan and Indo-Mongol races, and the distance separating these areas, the similarity between the "Mosup," "Pah," "Arizu," &c., and the Papuan, "Dubu," "Marea," &c., is most extraordinary.

Not only are they in each case abnormally large and long semi-sacred communal buildings, which serve as guest and council halls, decorated with skull trophies of war, or feasting, and specially set apart as the sleeping places for the young unmarried men ; but we find the structure and arrangement of the houses almost identical, not only are they characterized by extreme length, but in all cases the floors are raised on piles 6 to 10 feet high, we even see such a detail of construction as the peculiar Naga "hum tong," Miri "tung gong," or projecting siesta platform which is common among all Indo-Mongol houses, turning up in the Papuan "Araiba," identical in office and structure.

Internally we see a long hall, with fire-places and sleeping bunks each side. Last and most significant of all we find that in all cases these houses are strictly tabu to women.

In saying that the extraordinary identity seen between these Indo-Mongol and Papuan buildings and their objects, cannot possibly be the result of accidental coincidence we tacitly admit the existence of a far-reaching social relation between these now distinct races.

The Revd. J. Chalmers, describing Ipaivaitani's "Dubu," says :—

“He himself led me by the hand, women and children remaining behind, men and youths preceding and following until we came to the “Dubu” itself, where I was met by a number of old men who waved their hands and bade me welcome. Inside and on each side of the long beautiful aisle were seated young men, legs crossed, and arms folded not speaking a word, while I was led down the aisle by the chief, followed by the old men until we came near the end where we stayed a few minutes, and I was then told to turn, on doing which all the seated ones rose, followed me out and a general conversation went on.”

This is almost precisely the etiquette pursued in our Naga hills, see *Journal A. S. B. Volume XLI, Part I, of 1872* pages 17 and 18.”

Further on Chalmers says :—“The temple, for a native building, was really good. In front was a large platform, and immediately under the great high peak in front, was a large verandah, on which the men sat sheltered from the sun and rain. I looked down an aisle nearly 200 feet in length. Inside the whole place was divided into compartments, in each of which there were fires, where the owners spent much of their time in eating and sleeping.”

Speaking of the Maiva villages in the Papuan Gulf Mr. Lawes says :—“The sacred house, a fine building 120 feet \times 24, was assigned for lodging. Inside the building was furnished with series of shelves or platforms, the upright posts were mostly carved, one at the entrance having a full length figure of a crocodile on one side, and a human figure on the other. The Dupu or sacred house has its times of more than ordinary sanctity, at such periods it is profusely decorated, and no woman’s or child’s eye is permitted to see it. The sacred house of each village generally stands at the end of the single street, and the other houses are of poor construction.”

In the *Journal B. G. S. for April 1884*, page 216, the Revd. W. G. Lawes refers to Mr. Chalmers’ visit to Maclachie point. “One Dubu or sacred house is described where two large posts 80 feet high support the large peaked portico, which is 30 ft. wide, while the whole building is 160 feet in length, and tapers down in height from the front. A large number of skulls of men, crocodiles, cassowaries and pigs, ornamented it. The human skulls are those of victims who have been killed and eaten by them.”

These skull trophies which are met with all over the Pacific are a peculiar and suggestive counterpart to the identically similar skull trophies seen among most of the Indo-Mongolian races. Among the head-hunting Nagas, as many as 350 skulls, of men, women, and children, may at times be seen carefully ranged, in a “Pah,” like the flower pots in a hot-house, the posts and beams being hung with boar, mithan and deer skulls tier over tier.

Sigr. D'Albertis, in several places in his travels in New Guinea, describes the "Marea," as guest and council houses, tabu to women, and situated at the end of a street of houses. At page 194 he refers to a corpse which was "taken to the house of the unmarried young men."

In many works of travel we see illustrations of the Marea or Dubu in New Guinea, as being situated at the end of a street, where the houses of the married people are placed end on, in two rows facing each other. At page 140 D'Albertis illustrates a "Marea" (at Para's village) 300 ft. long \times 36 to 45 wide, this being the public hall and sacred house, but in this instance the huts of the married people are built (also on piles,) as a row of miniature houses along each side of the main communal building, and joined thereto by little flying bridges, across which the women dare not pass, their exit being by little doors and ladders down on the outer side.

Viewed in plan this arrangement of the large communal hall in the centre, with the married quarters all divided off along each side, is absolutely identical with the ground plan of many Indo-Mongolian houses, where there is a long and wide common central apartment, at times reduced to a passage, and off which on each side, are the rooms of the married couples all partitioned off, with their own fire-places, and with ladders and doors in the outer walls.

Among the Arfak villages Sr. D'Albertis alludes to the houses built on piles, wherein the men and women live, in one, divided down the middle by a partition, the men one side the women on the other, and they eat apart.

Captain Strachan in his "*Expedition to New Guinea*," page 166, says:—Some of the houses of the Turi Turi were from 100 to 150 ft. long, the women and the men lived in separate houses, not even the married people living together. The houses are raised from the ground and a broad step ladder leads to a platform at either end. There are also platforms at the sides with several small doors or openings at intervals along the building." Sr. D'Albertis, (pp. 319-20), referring to the Mou, Miori, and Erine villages, says that the houses are in 2 rows, while large houses called "Marea" on piles, and tabu to women, contain skull trophies, and have no doors, but platforms in front called "Araiba" 6 to 12 feet high. These are the young unmarried men's sleeping houses.

Dr. Holrong refers to these "Marea" or "Dubus," when he says: "The young men live together in one building which is distinguished by the figure of a man." (*Pro., R. G. S.* 1888, page 602).

Mr. J. C. Galton writing in "*Nature*," (page 205, 1880) of Maclay's travels, says that the "Buam ram ra," or sacred house is strictly tabu to women and children, while the "Barum" or great drum and all musical

instruments are also tabu to them, but are played by the "Malassi" or unmarried young men; and women eat by themselves.

Thus we see on the great island of Papua amongst races now distinct in physique and language from our Indo-Mongolians, Dravidians, and Kols, these singular communal barracks. Under the names of "Dubu, Marea, or Buam ram ra," these peculiar and conspicuous semi-sacred houses are built on piles, decorated with skull trophies, used as guest and council houses, with the projecting siesta platform, are the sleeping places of the young men, and strictly tabu to the women, the family live in subordinate huts.

In Dr. Guppy's "*Solomon Islands*" page 57, we find that:—"In the large villages, the houses are generally built (on piles) in double rows with a common thoroughfare between; the tambu house occupies usually a central position, and has a staging in front. Page 67:—"In the the tambu houses of St. Christoval and the adjoining Islands, we have a style of building on which all the mechanical skill of which the natives are possessed has been brought to bear. These sacred buildings have many and varied uses. Women are forbidden to enter their walls, and in some coast villages as at Sapuna in the Island of S. Duna, where the tambu house overlooks the beach, women are not permitted to cross the beach in front. The interior of these houses is free to any man to lie down and sleep in."

If we turn to the Bismark Archipelago, the Louisiades, and New Hebrides we find either recent or former traces in them of these social barracks and many of the customs which so commonly accompany them such as "jhuming," tatooing, pile building, head-hunting, &c., and here there are canoe houses.

Mr. W. Powell, referring to the little houses of the natives on New Britain, says:—"For each village two large houses are built; one for the men the other for the women, no man is allowed in the woman's house, nor is any woman allowed in the man's house, the latter is generally used for a council house. They are lined with bunks made of bamboo which extend along both sides, serving as beds or seats."

Near Port Webber he found, in a clearing, several houses, a large one in the centre, a council or reception house, with the large "garamoot" or wooden drum before it. This house "might have been, as in other parts of New Britain, a *young man's sleeping house*."

"When in want of women for their young men to marry (as they may not marry into their own tribe), they make a raid against the bush tribes of Byning and seize the young women, eating the bodies of the men killed or taken prisoners."

Captain C. Bridge in the *Proceedings R. G. S.*, September 1886, page 549, informs us that "at Ambrym (New Hebrides) and some

other islands the young, unmarried men in a village always sleep in a large house specially set apart for them." And in the Pelew Islands "in each village there are large club-houses to which the younger men resort, a few women from neighbouring villages also frequent them. It is not considered *comme il faut* for a woman to enter one in her own village. If she did she would become an outcaste; going into one a mile or two off, however, in no way affects her position."

As far off indeed as New Zealand we find the so-called "bachelors' barracks" have spread from Polynesia. In a note from Mr. S. Percy Smith, he says:—"The bachelors' barrack is a Polynesian institution, known in New Zealand as the "Wharee Matoro," which was the sleeping place of the young men, and often of the young women too. *Wharee* means "house" and *Matoro* is the advance made by women towards the other sex (often used *vice versa* also). These "wharee" were also the places where the village guests were entertained. Sexual intercourse between the young and unmarried was quite unconstrained in former times."

Turning north to Formosa we find that Mr. G. Taylor, in the *Proceedings, R. G. S.* for 1889, page 231, says that in the aboriginal villages there are one or more buildings called "Palong Kans," which are large houses built to accommodate the youths from the time they attain puberty until married. Their food is prepared by the parents and taken to the "Palong Kan," the lads are never allowed to reside in the paternal home. All public matters are discussed in the "Palong Kans" and it is of the nature of a caravanserai, as any visitor may enter, hang up his belongings and begin cooking at the public fire.

By day the building is watched by the youths in turn. On the receipt of any intelligence necessitating a meeting of the villagers, the watchers attach to their waists the iron bells which always hang at the door, and run through the village, regulating their speed by the importance of the matter to be discussed.

Dr. Warburg again at page 743 refers to the Formosan skull hunts, blood money, and "club houses for young men."

In Borneo again we find a large number of savage races, many of them notorious head-hunters, and who in physique and customs are almost identical with our Indo-Mongols of the hills round, and south of Assam. Not only among Dyaks and Nagas do we see, jhum cultivation, building on piles, houses 200 and 300 feet long, head-hunting, blackening the teeth, aversion to milk, and barracks for the unmarried youths; but singular details absolutely identical such as the bamboo pegged to a tree stem for a ladder, getting fire by sec-sawing a long strip of dry cane under a dry branch held down by the foot, &c.

According to Sir Henry Yule:—"In Borneo as well as among the

tribes of the Assam frontier, we find in each village one or more public halls used for public ceremonies, but which also form dormitories of the unmarried young men of the community and serve thus as a sort of main guard to the village, and in these halls both in Borneo and Assam is often seen suspended the treasure of trophy skulls. Hence St. John often calls them head-houses and sometimes bachelors' houses." Unfortunately St. John's "*Life in the forests of the far East*" is not in our library, and I must be content with the above single quotation.

Wallace, however, in his *Malay Archipelago*, page 50, says, "My things were taken "up to the "head-house," a circular building attached to most Dyak villages, and serving as a lodging for strangers and the place for trade. The sleeping room of the unmarried youths, and the general council chamber."

It may not be out of place to notice here, that in some cases the type of Chief's house is the same as those seen in the hills round Assam, and in New Guinea.

In Mr. D. D. Daly's note on the explorations in British North Borneo, (*Proceedings R. G. S.* January 1883, p. 6) he says:—"At Punnun, the head man is Rendom, who lives in a large house, raised ten feet off the ground; there is a centre passage through the top part with many rooms containing families on either side." This is structurally identical with our Chiefs' houses in the Naga hills, and many other places, see "*Nature*" June 19, 1884 p. 169.

The difficulty of tracing these barracks among the savage tribes in Sumatra has been considerable. So far my only source of information has been the short notice in the "*Illustrated London News*" of September 12th, 1891, p. 335, of M. Julius Claine's trip among the Battak Karo, in May 1890. He says:—"The town of Sirbaya is divided into several "kampongs," separated by bamboo palisade and ruled by their respective chiefs. The houses are built on piles of squared timber. In front of the house is a raised platform with a staircase of bamboo. The interior is one large room with a trench along the middle of the floor serving as a passage from end to end. This abode is occupied by the family Patriarch, with his married sons and daughters and their children, each branch of the family having its allotted place.

They pass much of their time on the outer terrace or platform, and occasionally sleep there at night. A dozen married couples with their offspring, or nearly 100 persons, may inhabit one such dwelling. Unmarried young men live together in a large house sometimes of two stories, which is set apart for them.

So that here again in Sumatra we find unmistakably this singular social institution, and according to "*Nature*" August 13th, 1885, p. 346, these Battaks are "head-hunters."

Whether the segregation of unmarried youths is seen in the island of Nias, and among the Tagal and Igorotte of Luzon, and the forest nomadics of central Sumatra I cannot say, but over the whole of Polynesia it seems to have co-existed with a stage of complete sexual liberty which now appears shocking to us.

For many years one of the greatest difficulties met with by the Missionariēs over this region was the absence of terms in all the languages, denoting virtue, modesty and chastity. The attempts to explain these terms to old or young alike, were met by shrieks of laughter, as they were utterly incomprehensible.

In all cases this universal and naive immodesty seems to have co-existed with the communal barracks sacred to men only, whether among exogamic or endogamic communities, and even among those as in "Taipi" of the Marquesas, where marriage, as we understand it, had not been fully developed, or hardly begun.

In the "*Narrative of a four months' residence in the Typee Valley of Nukuhiva, one of the Marquesas, in 1847,*" Mr. Hermann Melville fully describes the "Ti" or bachelors' hall, "at least 200 feet in length, though not more than 20 in breadth; the whole front of this structure was completely open. Its interior presented the appearance of an immense lounging-place, the entire floor being strewn with successive layers of mats. Thus far we had been accompanied by a troop of the natives of both sexes, but as soon as we approached its vicinity, the females gradually separated themselves from the crowd, and standing aloof, permitted us to pass on. Inside, muskets, rude spears, and war clubs were ranged around."

This is an almost exact repetition of Mr. Needham's description of the Abors' "bachelors' hall", or "Mosup" (*Proceeding, R. G. S. May, 1886, p. 317.*) "80 yards long and 10 yards wide," and is entirely open along the whole of one side. In this house all the single men warriors reside, and it is also used as a council room, and the arms are also stored in it as in the "Ti," of the "Marquesas."

The most remarkable feature in regard to Typee is that while in that instance the sexual liberty was unusually complete, and the "bachelors' barracks" seen in its purest form, the institution of "marriage" was yet in its infancy and from the very nature of the conditions was developing on endogamic lines.

The "capture of wives" appears in that case to have been practically an impossibility, as a rule, and hence it may be one of the rare instances where monogamy or polyandry arose by endogamy. But the marriage tie, or "nuptial alliance" seems to have been of a very simple nature, and easily dissolved.

In the case of "Taipi," we see a tribe confined to a valley 9 or 10 miles long by 1 or 2 wide, living on bread-fruit, plantains, coconuts, yams, growing spontaneously; no cultivation, and possessing no cattle: only the pig; their houses scattered among the trees, not grouped into villages; and having perpetual feud with Happar and Nukuhiva, adjoining tribes, eating these enemies when slain. The absence of marriage except in a rudimentary (endogamic) form, the complete sexual liberty, utter ignorance of modesty, and remarkable development of the Ti, or barracks tabu to women, are as singular as the general happiness and plenty, absence of sickness and crime.

For many years past an obscure relation has been observed in many ways between the Indo-Pacific region and East Africa; it crops up in several matters, and hence we need not be surprized at finding that, in variously modified forms, our communal barracks for the unmarried are seen among the Massai and other races. Dr. Parkes noticed them on the Congo. In the *Proceedings, R. G. S.* for December, 1884, page 701, Mr. Joseph Thomson says:—"The most remarkable distinctions characterise the various epochs in the life-history of the Massai. The boys and girls up to a certain age live with their parents, and feed upon meat, grain, and curdled milk. At the age of 12 with the girls, and 12 to 14 with the boys, they are sent from the married men's Kral, to one in which there are only unmarried young men and women. There they live in a very indiscribable manner till they are married."

"At this stage the men are warriors and their sole occupation is cattle-lifting and amusing themselves at home. The young women attend to the cattle and build the huts, and perform other necessary household duties. So pleasant does the Massai warrior find this life that he seldom marries till he has passed the prime of life and finds his strength decline. The great war spear and heavy buffalo-hide shield, the sword and the knobkerry are laid aside. For a time—a month—he dons the dress of an unmarried woman, and thereafter becomes a staid and respectable member of Massai society." The habits of this strange tribe are purely nomadic, they move about according to the pastures. Their houses are formed of bent boughs, plastered with dung."

Again Mr. D. K. Cross, in the *Proceedings, R. G. S.* February 1891, page 87, referring to the Awamwamba of Nyassaland, thus describes the village houses of the unmarried people:—"the unmarried men or 'wakenja' as they are called, live in long-shaped houses often 50 feet or 60 in length built of bamboo. No man is allowed to marry till he is about 30, and able to buy a wife. The herds are kept in separate houses which are long like those of the unmarried men."

Traces of the "bachelors' barracks," young men's clubs, and fetich houses tabu to women, are, I believe, found all across Africa, both among Bechuanas and Caffres, and the Bakalai of the Gaboon.

Thus we appear to have in the case of the Massai, at least one instance in Africa, of organized sexual promiscuity as a social phase preceding marriage. Hitherto we have seen, this feature among more settled races, in this instance it is seen among semi-nomads, where from the nature of the surroundings, in past times, the development of "marriage" appears to have been retarded by the ample supplies of food due to a pastoral life.

In strong contrast to this, we find among the Australian races, who are truly nomadic, and where food is procured with difficulty, that the possession of a wife (*i. e.*, female slave) is of the utmost importance socially and early marriage the rule. A man's wealth is measured by the number of his "lubras." Yet strange to say these races who have no settled villages or permanent buildings, exhibit the two social features so conspicuous in those having bachelors' barrack, *i. e.*, complete sexual liberty among juveniles in the clan or horde, and isolation of the young men from the married families.

It has been urged by MacLennan in his "*Primitive Marriage*," pp. 85, 86 and 87, and by Peschel in his "*Races of Man*," pp. 223, 224 and 5, that the cause of exogamy has been due to the horror of consanguinity, and that it is among rude and savage races "that a horror of incest is developed most strongly." Apparently the fact has been unknown, or overlooked, that it is precisely among such races that we see the most complete, most unlimited, and socially recognized sexual liberty permitted within the tribe or clan *until* marriage, whether it is endogamic or exogamic; that the "communal barracks" are in fact in many cases directly due to this fact, and hence are universally tabu to the married woman whether a captive or not. It is precisely in consequence of the sexual license attached to these barracks, that they *are tabu*. So that this "horror of incest" is really a fiction. It is much to be regretted that the want of a little more practical knowledge of savages and semi-civilized races, has caused MacLennan, Peschel and others, to make such a serious mistake as to suppose that exogamy and wife capture, were due to a "horror of consanguinity," a "terror of such alliances," and that (MacLennan, l. c. p. 232), "It is precisely nations in the most primitive stage which have the greatest abhorrence of incestuous marriage," and hence practice wife stealing so as to avoid it. This view of the savages' morality is necessarily ludicrous to all who understand the "communal barracks," and the sexual orgies so common among races having this institution, and wherein they are

viewed as *harmless juvenile amusements*. A view which extends from the Himalaya to New Zealand, and from the Marquesas to the Gaboon and beyond.

But to return to our (exogamic) Australians, and the traces of the barrack system among these nomadic races. Mr. Brough Smyth at page 36 of his great work says:—"The unmarried young men have a place set apart for them in the camps, and they are not permitted to associate with the females, page 62. At the "mur rum" initiation of a girl by old women, after being painted, young men (20 or so) approach and take an oath not to assault her, but she may entertain any of them of her own free will as a lover, till married.

As marriage is only possible by capture or exchange, a man with no female relations (to barter) is an object of suspicion, and has to "share the discomforts of the bachelors' quarters." (page 86). A man calls a woman of the same caste (or clan) "Wartoa," *i. e.*, *sister*, and cannot marry her, yet connections of a less virtuous character which take place between them, do not appear to be considered *incestuous*." "Intercourse between the males and females belonging to the same class, appear to be regarded without disfavor." "In arranging the "miams" (in a camp) care is taken to separate the unmarried young men from the married females and their families. It is not permitted to the young men to mix with females, but the young people of both sexes evade all precautions generally," (p. 124).

"When one tribe visits another, huts are built for them by the hosts, and one is set apart for the young unmarried men," (p. 135).

Again young men are taunted by the young women of their own tribe, if they marry outside by peaceful arrangement, (*i. e.*, they object to loss of their lovers), (vol. II, p. 82).

The above are a few references out of many (in one work) to the fact that, excepting the married woman alone, there was complete sexual liberty within the horde or clan, between those calling themselves brothers and sisters. This be it observed among races where their strict exogamy is, or has been, attributed to the dread and "horror" of *risk* of incestuous intercourse. There can be little doubt that as Mr. Horatio Hale and others believe, the Australians are a degenerate race, or that they have carried with them into adverse surroundings, these two remarkable social features of complete sexual liberty within the clan, and the segregation of the unmarried youths, after exogamy arose. They exhibit one of the rare cases where among savages the increased importance of marriage and the "wife"—as a food gatherer,—has dominated the relics of the barrack system. It is the opposite of what we have seen among the Massai, where the com-

munal barracks appear to have survived in greater purity than elsewhere, due possibly to the absence of inducement to develop the marriage system.

It is instructive to note that while in the main perhaps, the development of social arrangements may have been from a stage of communism, through "wife capture," to endogamy, these three stages are not necessarily so incompatible as to be impossible together at one and the same time. Among many of our Indo-Mongoloid races we see all the three forms existing together in the same community. Taking the Banpara tribe as an illustration, we see in the head village Zu, as before noted, complete sexual liberty until marriage, and 13 typical bachelors' barracks or Pah, which are also skull-houses, guard-houses, council-and guest-halls, strictly tabu to married women.

This sexual liberty before marriage, is part and parcel of the whole social organization, and has been so apparently from time immemorial, producing no bad results, and is strenuously defended by old and young alike. If any grown girl becomes pregnant, which is a rare case until after marriage, there is very little trouble caused, as the young fellow to whom she is most partial is then allowed to marry her, with less delay and expense than usual. A feature in the case is noteworthy, *i. e.*, that, as a rule, by the time a young man has reached the age of 24 or 25, and a girl 20, both settle down as quiet and sedate parties while still in the early prime of life. The stage of excitement is over, and it is exceedingly rare to find infidelity; divorces being less frequent than among civilized races who value juvenile chastity. But side by side with this unlimited sexual liberty before marriage, we see that among the chiefs of these same tribes, who are great sticklers for etiquette and customs, their marriages are strictly exogamous, they may not marry into their own tribes. The Chopnu ("bear") chief must not marry a "bear," or Chopnu girl, but he may marry a Chanu or "tiger," or Yanu, "iron." A Yanu chief may marry a Chopnu but not a Yanu. At the same time, when young, all those chiefs have the same liberty precisely as the other young men, have several sweethearts, and at least before marriage, one or more concubines, from their own tribe, the children of whom, if any, do not become chiefs. These concubines are called "Karsais." Their "Kuries" or true wives are arranged for with other chiefs who have marriageable daughters, often a tedious and costly matter, including political alliance. The ceremony when it comes off is largely a mock capture, the bridegroom and large number of elaborately decorated warriors, in full war paint, with guns and spears, meet the bridal party on the tribal boundary, execute their war dances and bring the bride home to

a grand feast and general drinking bout. The "Karsais" or concubines, meanwhile, are kept on, and as before, are practically servants, the Kuri indeed looks on them as indispensable. So that the chiefs are exogamic, and the marriage is a relic of wife capture, the ceremony often a mock capture or fight. But the rank and file of these head-hunting savages are now so closely packed all over these hills, and have been so for, at least 1,500 or 2,000 years that the difficulty of procuring wives, when so often at feud all round, has necessitated endogamous marriages, at first no doubt between different villages of the same tribe semi-independent. As a rule now, the common folk are endogamous, and the marriage is arranged by parents or relatives, at times by payment, and at others service, or both. In all cases, however, as amongst all the races having barracks, and sexual liberty, these marriages are adult, and not juvenile, as among Hindus and Mohamedans, and the parties themselves have the greatest say in the matter, they are not little puppets.

Of the three forms of sexual relation the oldest is probably the communal barrack system, which is so generally seen as at the basis of many tribal customs and which underlies the whole social life, a stage of exogamy, following but not superseding it, survives as a relic among the chiefs, while endogamy is apparently more recent, and in turn does not violently displace either of the others. The elastic relations existing between the villages constituting a distinct tribe, give us indeed the clue to the mode of transition from exogamy to endogamy. Occasionally a large village with one or more offshoots, will declare its independence, or two tribes (or clans) at peace agree to found a new settlement, which in time becomes distinct.

Indeed this has been the normal mode of tribal development over the entire area. Occasionally a single tribe or clan will be comprised in one large village or "chang," and at feud with all others around it for 6 or 8 years, and this has no doubt led to endogamy, especially as so many of these "changs," are at times built on semi-detached peaks, and are practically almost distinct villages. But the transition from exogamy to endogamy among these tribes, has evidently been exceedingly slow, possibly not less than thousands of years, judging by their unwritten history, which goes back in some cases about 30 generations, and which unless secured at an early date, will undoubtedly be lost for ever. The remarkable feature in the case is the steady persistence of the "barracks" all through, as a social survival from a period which evidently preceded the origin of these races as we now see them.

The sociological significance of these singular communal institutions, briefly referred to in the foregoing, it is imperatively necessary

to study carefully if we hope to glimpse the earlier forms of social development, or settle whether man has been from the first "a pairing animal," and the family the unit, as some suppose, or whether the unit has been the small chiefless communal clan.

A general, if somewhat cursory survey in this research, is much more likely to elucidate the truth, than a very careful study of isolated instances, which vary so considerably, as to be at times probably misleading. Collectively these barracks seem to point to a communal origin, incompatible with the pre-existence of monogamy, the universality of the tabu against the married woman, among races wherein there is, and has been complete sexual liberty till marriage, seems to point out the married woman or captured slave, as a social interloper; she is not the superior or even the equal in the situation anywhere, but is universally legislated against as an inferior, the barrack dominates her and even her offspring. They are antagonistic.

One of the dangers of studying this subject exclusively from a few instances only, is seen in the fact that in many cases the tabu against the "wife," has gradually been extended to the other women and girls of the clan, a very natural development. But while there are apparently no cases wherein the married women can visit or sleep in these young men's barracks (in their own tribe) there are a large number wherein the unmarried girls can do so, and not a few in which these latter are *expected* to do so, or even in which special barracks (*Gabru morongs*) are built for them. Those who know anything of these primitive races, among whom we find these communal barracks and their utter disregard for juvenile chastity, must smile at the remark that "it is precisely among nations in the most primitive stage which have the greatest abhorrence of incestuous marriages," and that this drove them all into wife capture. As if to render this view still more ludicrous, Huth's "marriage of near kin," amounts to a demonstration that consanguineous marriages are not at all necessarily injurious, and may at times even be beneficial, as all breeders of stock well know and the race of Ptolemies demonstrated. That in the earlier stages of human development, ere social customs arose regulating the rights of property, there may have been a time when captured women were the public property of the horde, is not impossible. But as soon as rights in captured spoils were recognized, by races wherein there was sexual communism, and hence less internal competition for females, the right of the stronger warriors to keep their female captives as "wives," would be less disputed. The more valuable such females became as slaves, the more "wife capture" would be developed, as in Australia. MacLennan would appear to have been under misapprehension, when

in arguing against the "origin of marriage" by *capture*, he thought it unlikely, because savages had "women of their own whom they could marry." It is precisely because in a communal stage, all the females of the tribe, or horde, were public property, that no male could isolate, and appropriate one, as his own *exclusively*, that the right to a captive female slave (as a wife) became feasible. She was private property.

The distinct private right to captured weapons, utensils or slaves, resulting from "joint action," is notorious among savages. Hence it is singular to see MacLennan insisting that the public right to a "beautiful captive," would stand as an argument against "marriage by capture." When we examine the matter closely, *in situ*, we find that invariably, the property captured in a joint raid, is never scrambled for, but subject to laws or rules minutely regulating the private rights of those engaged. Whether in fishing, hunting, or in raids for much coveted heads, to secure the envied tattooing, there are strict rules as to the rights in the spoils. I have known a case where the youngest lad in a head-hunting party alone secured the head, and the honor of tattooing, out of a party of 63 young warriors. Without strict and recognized rules in all such matters, there would be chronic social anarchy. So that when closely examined MacLennan's argument will not hold water. Whether an exhaustive study of these singular "communal barracks" seen among so many distinct races under such various local phases, will eventually shew us that they are the relics of a former stage of communism, it is not easy to see, but there are certain persistent features which appear to point in that direction, among others the universal tabu against the married women. If "marriage" by capture of female slaves, arose while society was in the stage of communal hordes, or clans, it is very easy to see that the successful warriors would naturally object to their female captives (or wives as we now call them) associating with the unmarried young men in their communal quarters, and hence tabu them. It is what we might naturally expect under the circumstances, and also that these warriors would generally have the power as well as the inclination to enforce such a social law. If there were no other females available for the rest of the males, it might not have been so easy perhaps, but when we recollect that in all these cases there was complete sexual liberty within the horde itself, among its normal female members, the successful isolation of the captive wives was probably feasible, and hence arose both the "marriage" and "tabu" simultaneously. The almost universal power of these communal relics, over the children, a power which, as a rule, dominates that of the parent, is another indication that marriage and the family are of more recent development. Indeed the

indications that some forms of communal association preceded the isolation of the family turn up in several unexpected ways. At page 140 of his travels D'Albertis illustrates a "Marea" at Paras village 300 ft. long by about 36 wide, this being the great communal building, or sacred house, tabu to women, and in this instance the houses of the married folk, also built on piles, are two rows of little huts, one along each side of the great building, distinct from it, yet with little flying bridges to it, across which the men alone could pass, the women's access to them being by little doors and ladders on the outside, as in fig. B. This arrangement and isolation of the married people's quarters, on either side of a common hall or passage, seems to underlie the construction of houses very generally all over this part of the world, as in figure A. In the case of the "Mou Miori," (D'Albertis) l. c. pp. 319-20, these married quarters are no longer little appendages along each side of the Marea, but are really distinct houses, and set back, so as to form a wide street, in which the communal Marea is placed. And here again we see that this arrangement as a street, is very common, from Assam to the Pacific. We even see that the clear space between the rows of houses used for dancing on, has a distinct name, the "Akra" of the Oraons, the "Imrai" of new Hebrides, &c., fig C. All these houses are built on piles, 3 or 4 to 8-10 ft. long, and have the siesta platform S, projecting in front beyond the eaves; the "Airaba" of New Guinea, the "Tung gong" of Miris, and "Humtong" of Nagas. In all the figures, A. B. C. Co are the communal and M the married quarters.

The building of houses on piles which is very common among races having communal barracks, has long been a stumbling block to anthropologists. Mr. Crawford in his "*History of the Archipelago*," p. 159, attributes it to the people inhabiting marshes, banks of rivers, and the sea coast. Others say as a means of security from attacks of enemies or wild animals. But as Sir Henry Yule pointed out in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, February 1880, page 296, it cannot be due to these and is really a race character.

The most likely cause for the custom seems to be the presence of the pig, which, as a domestic, or semi-domestic animal, is kept by almost all pile building races, and which unless there were some means taken to effectually frustrate its depredations, would devour everything edible within reach, infants included, as some of the people themselves point out. They could not go out to their jhums, without leaving a guard behind them. This "pile building" is one of the *allied customs* before alluded to; and exhibits the usual variation due to influence of physical surroundings.

The fact that these barracks are found over such an immense area among such distinct races, and with such marked geographical variations, obviously due to the surroundings, indicates an extreme antiquity, preceding the differentiation of physique and even language, and being essentially of a communal nature they seem relics of a social stage preceding monogamy, and to demonstrate more or less clearly that marriage arose by capture. The extreme, and indeed *absolute* freedom between the sexes before marriage, culminating in many races, in sexual orgies, and the absence of the ideas of modesty and chastity, amply demonstrate that it could not have been the *dread of incest* which drove them into exogamy. There appears to be absolutely no evidence that a peaceful stage of monogamy preceded the communal barrack system, certainly no evidence of peaceful endogamy, or "marriage" within the horde or clan. Such evidence as we have is distinctly in favor of "marriage by capture," having arisen during a stage of communism, the relics of which we see surviving in these singular communal barracks. That they are doomed, and ere long will become extinct, is not at all doubtful to those who have watched them in some cases for 20 years. The trader and the missionary are rapidly changing the old order of things, and, even without their aid, there appears to be some evidence that among many of these races, the importance of the family is in the ascendant. It is most desirable therefore that these social relics should be studied systematically at an early date, the information gained would be of much value to anthropologists, and not entirely useless perhaps to those interested in such questions as infant marriage, and the age of consent.

